

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09875 01 OF 03 272056Z

ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-07

OMB-01 TRSE-00 DHA-05 EB-08 AID-05 COME-00 FRB-03

XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10

NRC-05 STR-04 CEA-01 IGA-02 /152 W

-----088498 272140Z /72

O R 271810Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3363

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LAGOS 9875

LUSAKA FOR AMB YOUNG'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, PORG, NI, SF, US

SUBJECT: LAGOS CONFERENCE: WRAP-UP

1. SUMMARY: NEARLY ALL PARTICIPANTS AT LAGOS LEFT TOWN ABLE TO CALL
CONFERENCE A SUCCESS -- A RESULT NOT AT ALL INEVITABLE CONSIDER-
ING THE COMPLEX MIS OF FORCES HERE. FOR AFRICANS IN GENERAL,
FACT THAT 102 NATIONS, DOZENS OF NGOS AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 09875 01 OF 03 272056Z

SPENT FIVE DAYS IN AN AFRICAN CAPITAL IN CONSTRUCTIVE SEARCH FOR
SOLUTIONS FOR APARTHEID WAS A SOLID GAIN IN THEIR COMMON EFFORT
TO COMBAT RACISM ON THE CONTINENT.

RADICALS AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAD CHANCE TO PRESENT THEIR
VIEWS BEFORE THE CAMERAS, EVEN IF THROTTLED BY MODERATES WHEN IT
COUNTED. MODERATES SUCCESSFULLY KEPT CONFERENCE FROM TURNING
INTO RHETORICAL FREE-FOR-ALL AND MAINTAINED FOCUS, AT

LEASE IN PLENARY SESSIONS, ON ATTEMPTS TO DEFEND PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS. MODERATES CLEARLY SAW CONFERENCE AS A VEHICLE FOR RAISING CONSCIOUSNESS IN WESTERN NATIONS, BOTH WITH REGARD TO THE NATURE OF APARTHEID AND TO THE COMPLEX MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LINKAGES MODERATES SEE AS THE MAIN PREP OF THE VORSTER REGIME. EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES CAME WITHOUT EXPECTATIONS OF PROPAGANDA COUPS--AND THOSE EXPECTATIONS WERE JUSTIFIED. CHINESE CAME TO BLAST AWAY AT SOVIETS AND DID SO. WHILE PLO, LIBYANS AND IRAQIS DOUBTLESS LEFT HIGHLY DISAPPOINTED, OTHER ARABS PROBABLY DEPARTED RESIGNED TO CONFERENCE'S REFUSAL EFFECTIVELY TO LINK ZIONISM WITH APARTHEID. EUROPEANS TOOK STEADY IF GENERALLY POLITE PASTING OVER ARMS, ECONOMIC AND NUCLEAR LINKS TO SOUTH AFRICA, BUT NUCLEAR ISSUE FADED AND EUROPEANS UNDOUBTEDLY FELT THEY HAD GOTTEN OFF BETTER THAN COULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED. CONFERENCE WAS A CLEAR SUCCESS FOR NIGERIAN HOSTS. THEY HAD COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO A MODERATE, CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME AND BY SKILL, TOUGHNESS AND HARD WORK ACHIEVED THEIR GOAL. ASTUTE NIGERIAN BALANCING EARNED THEM NEW RESPECT BEFORE BOTH RADICALS AND MODERATES. CONFERENCE UNEQUIVOCALLY MOVED NIGERIA UP ANOTHER RUNG AS A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD. US PARTICIPATION AT CONFERENCE MADE EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TOWARD SUSTAINING OUR CURRENT POLICY INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CONFERENCE BROUGHT US ENHANCED POSITION IN NIGERIA, NO UNPLEASANT SURPRISES. MAJOR ANTICIPATED PITFALLS IN CONFERENCE EITHER DID NOT MATERIALIZE OR WERE SATISFACTORIL NEGOTIATED. END SUMMARY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LAGOS 09875 01 OF 03 272056Z

2. WORLDCONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID, HELD IN LAGOS AUGUST 22-26, CLOSED ON SUCCESSFUL NOTE AS CONFERENCE DECLARATION WAS ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS, ALBEIT WITH EIGHT PARTICIPANTS (INCLUDING US) EXPRESSING SPECIFIC RESERVATIONS. STEERING COMMITTEE, LED BY NIGERIAN CHAIRMAN HARRIMAN AND TANZANIAN CO-CHAIRMAN SALIM, PRODUCED GENUINE COMPROMISE DOCUMENT WHICH INEVITABLY, FULLY PLEASED NEITHER RADICAL NOR WESTERN NATIONS. US RESERVATIONS STEMMED FROM DECLARATION CALLS FOR CHAPTER VII MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, UNIVERSAL CUTOFF OF ALL NUCLEAR RELATIONSHIPS, AND CESSATION OF INVESTMENTS AND LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA IN TERMS AMOUNTING TO REQUEST FOR CHAPTER VII ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

. WE DO NOT HAVE EXACT NUMBER OF NATIONS, GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS WHO ATTENDED THIS UN SPONSORED CONFERENCE. IN ANY A SEEMINGLY INTERMINABLE STRING OF SPEAKERS EXPOUNDED UPON PRINCIPAL THEME OF CONFERENCE--I.E., THAT HEINOUS INSTITUTION OF APARTHEID WAS STILL BEING SUPPORTED BY COOPERATIVE LINKS FROM WESTERN NATIONS AND MNCS AND THAT THOSE LINKS SHOULD BE BROKEN. MOST SPEAKERS EITHER CALLED FOR ARMED STRUGGLE OR RELUCTANTLY

ENDORSED ITS USE.

4. IN ADDITION TO GENERALLY MODERATE TONE OF CONFERENCE THERE WERE SEVERAL OTHER PLUSSES. WESTERN COUNTRIES WERE GRATIFIED THERE WAS NO SERIOUS ATTEMPT, EVEN ON PART OF ARABS, TO LINK ZIONISM WITH APARTHEID. SEVERAL ARAB SPEAKERS MENTIONED THE SUBJECT IN COURSE OF THEIR ADDRESSES BUT AROUSED LITTLE INTEREST AMONG THE DELEGATIONS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT ARAB ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE SOME ZIONISM-RACISM LANGUAGE IN CONFERENCE DECLARATION WAS FIRMLY SQUELCHED BY NIGERIANS (AS THEY HAD EARLIER INFORMED US THEY WOULD DO).

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09875 02 OF 03 272108Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-07
OMB-01 TRSE-00 DHA-05 EB-08 AID-05 COME-00 FRB-03
XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10
NRC-05 STR-04 CEA-01 IGA-02 /152 W
-----088546 272140Z /72

O R 271810Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3364
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 LAGOS 9875

LUSAKA FOR AMB YOUNG'S PARTY

ARAB CAUCUS THEN ABANDONED THE ATTEMPT, OSTENSIBLY ON GROUNDSTHAT 1978 CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WOULD OFFER BETTER FORUM.

5. WESTERN COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN NUCLEAR FIELD ALSO CAME UP BUT, EVEN WITH DAMNING SPEECHES BY MCBRIDE AND MINTY, MATTER DID NOT PROVOKE CHAIN REACTION AND SOON FADED. NO SERIOUS ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO LINK ISRAEL TO PRETORIA'S NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 09875 02 OF 03 272108Z

MENT. FRG AND FRANCE RECEIVED GENERALLY HARSHER TREATMENT ON THIS SUBJECT THAN DID US. IN THIS RESPECT PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRESS STATEMENTS ON US APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA ON NUCLEAR MATTER WERE MOST HELPFUL. ALTHOUGH TEXT PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS WERE NOT DISTRIBUTED AT CONFERENCE, THEIR SUBSTANCE BECAME WIDELY KNOWN.

6. THAT US, WHOSE POSITION LACKED THE NEW INITIATIVES HOPED FOR BY MANY AFRICAN DELEGATIONS, WAS ABLE TO DO AS WELL AS IT DID WAS DUE IN LARGE PART TO THE SKILL AND PERSONAL MAGNETISM OF ANDY YOUNG AND HIS ABILITY TO CONVEY A SENSE OF POSITIVE CHANGE IN AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD MORAL ISSUES IN GENERAL AND APARTHEID IN PARTICULAR. NEWSMEN, DELEGATES, CHILDREN, AND AFRICANS IN GENERAL FLOCKED TO BE SEEN WITH HIM OR TALK WITH HIM. NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA AS CONFERENCE PRESIDENT TREATED PLENARY TO AN UNPRECEDENTED PAEN TO YOUNG AND TO THE TURNAROUND IN AMERICAN POLICY IN AFRICA. AND YOUNG'S-ANDY'S ADDRESS TO THE PLENARY WENT OVER WELL DESPITE SOME EXPRESSION OF REGRET OVER ABSENCE OF INDICATION OF FURTHER US POLICY CHANGES.

7. FOR AN IDEA OF THE SORT OF CRITICISM WHICH COULD HAVE EMERGED HAD RADICALS BEEN IN DRIVER'S SEAT, ONE NEED ONLY LOOK TO EFFORTS OF CONFERENCE COMMISSION WHICH WAS FORTUNATELY POWERLESS FORUM FOR AIRING FRUSTRATIONS OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (SEE REFTEL). THANKS TO CAREFUL NIGERIAN CONTROL OF COMMISSION, ITS REPORT WILL NOT BECOME OFFICIAL CONFERENCE DOCUMENT IN ASSOCIATION WITH CONFERENCE DECLARATION. RATHER IT WILL BE FORWARDED DIRECTLY TO APARTHEID COMMITTEE.

8. STONG MODERATE NIGERIAN LEADERSHIP DISPLAYED IN CONNECTION WITH REPORT OF CONFERENCE COMMISSION WAS CHARACTERISTIC OF FMG PERFORMANCE DURING CONFERENCE, AS MAJOR PLUS FROM WESTERN POINTS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LAGOS 09875 02 OF 03 272108Z

OF VIEW. NIGERIAN WILL AND DIRECTION WAS APPARENT IN THE REASONED AND CONSTRUCTIVE OPENING ADDRESS BY NIGERIAN HEAD OF STATE OBASANJO AS WELL AS IN THE CAUCUS AND BARGAINING SESSIONS IN WHICH NIGERIAN PERM REP HARRIMAN OR CONFERENCE PRESIDENT

GARBA REPEATEDLY AND DECISIVELY BEAT BACK EFFORTS BY ARABS TO AND AFRICAN OR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WANTING MORE RADICAL LANGUAGE AND PROPOSALS, IN ONE SESSION OF STEERING COMMITTEE, WHILE DRAFTING OF CONFERENCE DECLARATION WAS UNDERWAY, NIGERIANS WENT SO FAR AS TO TELL ANC AND PAC THAT THERE IS NO REAL WAR FOR LIBERATION UNDERWAY IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO GET OFF THEIR HIGH HORSES ON THIS SUBJECT. WITH AN ASSIST FROM TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR SALIM, THE NIGERIAN POSITION CARRIED THE DAY.

9. FROM US STANDPOINT ONE OF MOST POSITIVE ARR SUCCESSFUL ELEMENTS OF CONFERENCE WAS OUR PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH NIGERIAN LEADERSHIP, PARTICULARLY GENERAL OBASANJO, WHOSE DECISIVENESS GRASP OF ISSUES, AND EVIDENT WILLINGNESS TO EXERT HIMSELF ON BEHALF OF WESTERN PEACE EFFORT IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS IMPRESSIVE. FOR US AND OTHER ONE OF MOST SALIENT RESULTS OF CONFERENCE EVIDENCE OF DEPTH AND IMPORTANCE OF NIGERIA'S COMMITMENT TO USE ITS UNQUESTIONED POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL CLOUT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09875 03 OF 03 272109Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-07
OMB-01 TRSE-00 DHA-05 EB-08 AID-05 COME-00 FRB-03
XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10
NRC-05 STR-04 CEA-01 IGA-02 /152 W
-----088547 272147Z /72

O R 271810Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3365
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 LAGOS 9875

LUSAKA FOR AMB YOUNG'S PARTY

10. THE PROFUNDITY OF FEELING, NOT TO SAY RAGE, OVER APARTHEID AMONG AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WAS CRYSTAL CLEAR AT THIS CONFERENCE. BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AFRICAN OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID IS UNQUALIFIED. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WERE UNABLE TO OBTAIN THE FURTHER SOFTENING OF THE CONFERENCE DECLARATION WHICH WE DESIRED PRECISELY BECAUSE THAT DECLARATION ALREADY REPRESENTS THE LEAST THE AFRICANS COULD ACCEPT. ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, US AND WESTERN ONGOING EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 09875 03 OF 03 272109Z

MENT ENABLED US TO KEEP UP WITHH AND TO SOME EXTENT CONTROL THE POWER CURVE. ON SOUTH AFRICA, INDEPENDENT AFRICA CONTINUES TO LISTEN TO OUR STATEMENTS OF INTENT BUT UNTIL IT IS CONVINCED BY OUR ACTIONS THAT WE ARE AS COMMITTED TO BRINGING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE IN SA AS WE HAVE SHOWN OURSELVES TO BE IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA, OUR PROTESTATIONS OF COMMITMENT WILL BE RECEIVED WITH A GRAIN OF SALT.

MANY AT THE CONFERENCE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO ACCEPT THE NEW BONA FIDES WE HAVE BEEN OFFERING. BUT REMAINING AFRICAN CRITICISMS OF THE US STANCE ON APARTHEID ARE UNLIKELY TO DIMINISH MUCH FURTHER UNTIL WE ARE PERCEIVED AS ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTING MORE EFFECTIVE ACTIONS TO PROMOTE CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.
EASUM

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: APARTHEID, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 27-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LAGOS09875
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770311-0014
Format: TEL
From: LAGOS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770816/aaaaamqw.tel
Line Count: 311
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 9cdfdf51-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1460061
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LAGOS CONFERENCE: WRAP-UP
TAGS: PARM, PORG, NI, SF, US, OAU
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9cdfdf51-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009